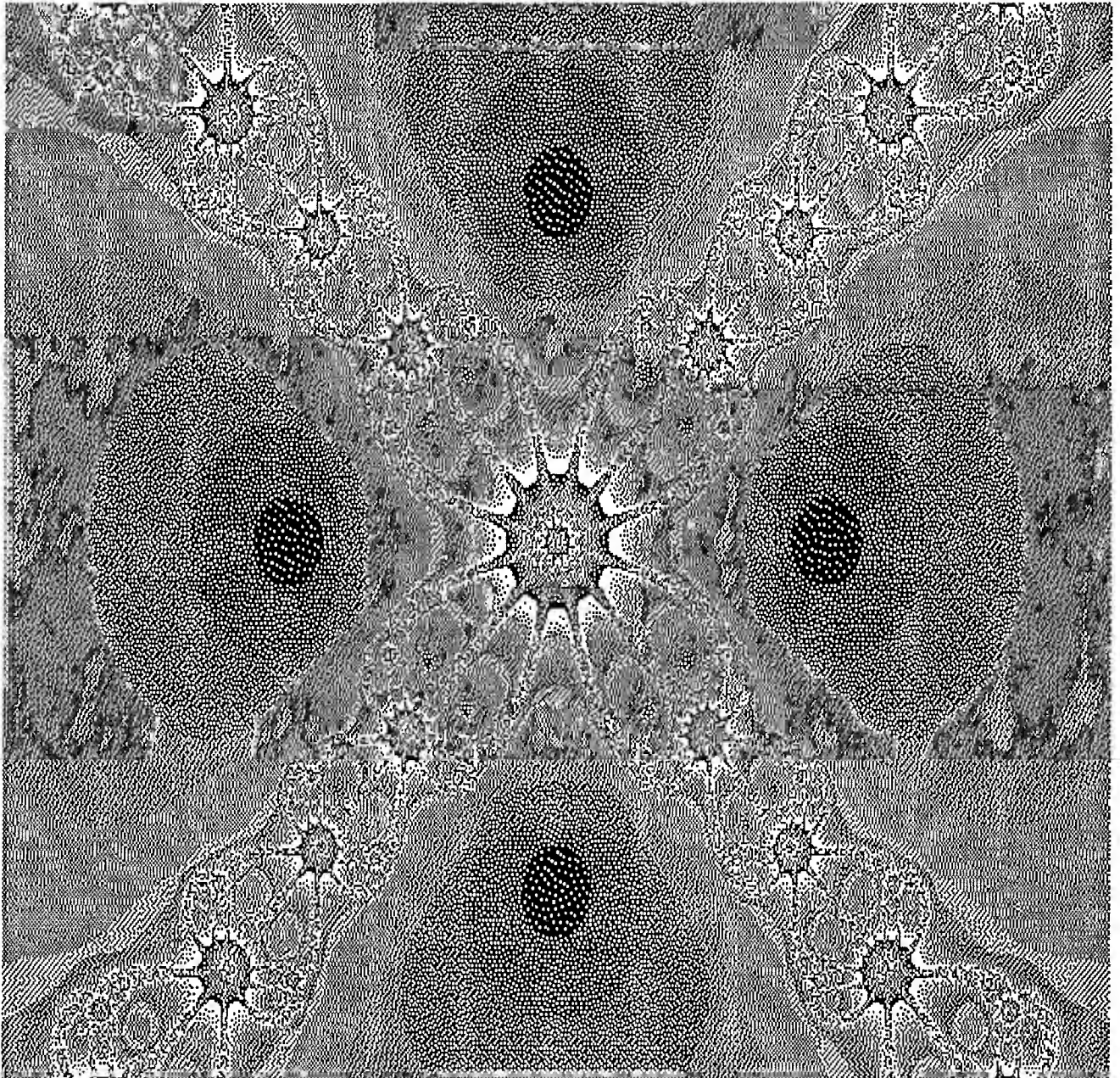


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THE LAST LETTER FROM THE RAF CONCERNING THEIR NEW DECISIONS

To everybody who is looking for ways, how to organise and to push through a human life, here and worldwide, on really concrete questions. This is what we are looking for as well. There are thousands of questions on the table that scream for a solution, if these problems are not soon faced and solved they will lead the humanity to the catastrophe. They were originated by the capitalistic principle that only profit and power have a value and that people and nature are submitted to it. We, the RAF, since 1989 have been seriously thinking and speaking, that it is no more possible that things go on like this, for us and for everybody who has a background of resistance in the FRG. We came to the conclusion that it is a question of finding new definitions for a policy able to push through real changes for the life of the people today and able – on the long run – to tear away the definition of the reality of life from the powerful.

To this aim it is necessary to see the history of oneself and of everybody in the resistance to think about it what we have done that was wrong, what important experiences we or others did, and which meaning they could have for the future.

The starting point was:

1. The fact that we all stood in front of a situation that the relations of power have changed – the disintegration of the socialist state-system, the end of the "Cold War". We were confronted with the fact that the idea to come to a breakthrough in the international fight didn't become reality. The liberation struggles at all have been too weak to come through in all levels of imperialistic war.

The disintegration of the socialist states which was the result of their unsolved inner contradictions has had catastrophic effects for millions of people in the whole world.

It has all people who are fighting for liberation thrown back onto themselves. But this once again showed clearly the necessity that fights for liberation only can be developed out of the very own history of the people, out of the authentic conditions and aims. And only out of this a new international force can grow. This had a lot of comrades from the Third World brought into discussion and there they have found the beginning and the practicing of a very new politics.

This we will do also here, by this we are connected together.

2. We ourselves had been confronted with the fact, that, by the way we practiced our policy in the years before 1989, politically we became weaker instead of stronger.

For different reasons we don't attract people here any longer that would have made common activity possible.

We recognize it as a central failure that we didn't make steps towards the people who stood up here also. And towards those who hadn't yet we didn't make steps at all.

It became clear for us that we have to look for the people and that it can't go on as it was before that we, as guerilla, make the decisions on our own and that the others follow us. We formulated this often in a different way, but reality was like that.

We had reduced our policy very much to attacks against imperialist strategies. The search for direct positive aims and for a way, how a social alternative can begin to exist here and today, was missing. The experiences, that others obtained by fighting, showed us that it is possible to start with this here.

But our relation to those people who were close to us, was determined by the aim to start fighting together. Therefore there was no space in this determination for them to develop and to live their own social values in their everyday-lives together with lots of others. Only therefore we could have come to a policy together, which could have shown more people, also those who are living outside the different scene-ghettos, that the coldness and powerlessness by imperialism is neither destiny nor natural law, but ends where people put their needs and their solidarity into practice and start to live them here and today.

We took the consequences of that and tried a parallel process of new-determination and practical intervention.

We thought we could create by ourselves a new relationship by the way we determine our actions and by the way we talked, and so create the possibilities for the necessary conditions for a common discussion and by that the possibility for a common perspective together with a lot more people and groups.

It was a mistake that we didn't mediate our process clearly, but only partly as a result of our discussions in our communiqués and letters.

And this only a start and soon we will talk about everything more thoroughly.

After this two years we understood that this wasn't enough, that this process didn't allow us to develop what we consider as most important now and in the near future:

The common discussion and the construction of connections among different groups and people, which has been necessary for a long time; starting from the point, where the people live, from the daily lives of the people in this society which urges many to take their situation into their own hands and search for solutions together with other people.

We think such connection may become a basis of a power, which we called counterpower from the bottom and which doesn't yet exist in this way. As long as such an alternative to destruction and desperation within the system can't be experienced, the number of those will arise who will be excluded and will stay alone without any perspective, who will die of heroine or will be driven into suicide etc. And more and more people will follow the fascists. Because of our experiences and our discussions with comrades concerning all this issues, now we are sure that the guerilla can't be in the centre of this process of the development of connections.

Actions targeting on the lives of leaders of the state and economy can't promote the necessary process, because they escalate the whole situation for everything, which has just started to grow and all who have just started to search.

The quality of such attacks presupposes an consciousness, what changes they can promote concretely. Now, in such a time, where there is the main topic for everybody to find themselves on a new basis, this consciousness is impossible.

So we understand the criticism, that by this kind of actions we presume the result.

WE DECIDED TO RETREAT FROM THE ESCALATION. THAT MEANS THAT WE WILL STOP OUR ATTACKS ON LEADING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ECONOMY AND THE STATE FOR THE NECESSARY PROCESS NOW.

This process with discussions and construction of counterpower from the bottom includes as an important part the struggle for the freedom of the political prisoners.

After 20 years of state of emergency against the prisoners, torture and annihilation it is now the time to enforce their right to live- to obtain their freedom by fighting.

The minister of justice, Kinkel, announced in January to release some of the prisoners who are unfit for imprisonment or who are imprisoned for the longest time. This was the first time they admitted that there are fractions in the establishment who understood that they cannot solve social con-

traditions and resistance by police-repression and military means.

They wanted to destroy the prisoners for more than 20 years. The announcement of Kinkel asks the question if the state is willing to give up its annihilation-strategy against everybody who is fighting for a self-determined life. The strategy against those who don't capitulate in front of the power of money, those who formulate and live their own interests and aims against the interest of profit.

This Kinkel-initiative asks the question if there is space for political solutions. (If there are representatives of economy sectors who put the government under pressure, this can only be good.)

We will have an exact look, on how serious the Kinkel-initiative is. Up to now there didn't happen very much except from that Claudia Wannersdorfer was released just a few month before her official release. The others who are unfit for imprisonment - Guenther Sonnenberg, Bernd Roessner, Isabel Jacob, Ali Jansen - are still imprisoned. Also Irmgard Moeller is after more than 20 years still imprisoned.

Up to now the conditions in prison didn't become better. The interviews of Norbert Hofmeier, Baerbel Perau und Thomes Thoene, after they were in prison 2/3 of the time of their sentences, were like inquisitions. Angelika Goder is threatened to be send to prison although she is ill. With the announcement of new trials against some prisoners after statements of the chief-witnesses they express their ice-cold need of revenge by the state. It shows their aim to bury the prisoners forever in jail.

Referring to the ministry of justice in Stuttgart, the newspaper "Welt" formulated their unbroken will of annihilation: If they have to decide (the ministry of justice) would Guenther Sonnenberg who is unfit for imprisonment for more than 15 years, only be released if he submits to the repressive oppression in the prison. He is called a "refractory prisoner", because he is solidary and holds contacts with his friends. In these ways they make propaganda against his release. All this is contrary to the really new character of the state strategy.

THE PRISONERS UNFIT FOR IMPRISONMENT AND THOSE IMPRISONED FOR THE LONGEST TIME MUST BE RELEASED AT ONCE! ALL THE OTHER ONES MUST COME TOGETHER UNTIL THEIR RELEASE!

It is an important switch if something moves in this direction: Everybody will be able to see the direction the train will run; if the fraction in the establishment gets its way that recognizes they have to make

concessions for a political solution, or the one of the concrete-heads and iron-eaters.

This will not only get obvious in the behaviour against the political prisoners. There are other focuses, where this decision of the switch will be visible immediately. Where fights have developed so far that they have recovered space, it will be quickly obvious, in how far they will admit political solutions or want to wage war.

For example, whether they still want to wage war against the people from Hafenstrasse after 10 years of fighting.

But on the long term a lot of other things are important.

- There are fights of social prisoners against special prison-conditions and against the inhuman conditions in prisons at all. It must not happen that the political prisoners get out of the extermination blocks and others get in.

All isolation blocks must be closed!

- There are fights for centres, for space to live and for housing for many, who don't have this now and here.

- It will get visible if the people of the ex-GDR shall be pressed as objects without an own will into the capitalistic system further on, or if they can obtain space by fighting where they can determine the development by themselves.

- It is an important question, how long the state will be able to push the racism against refugees and handle them as "sub-humans", to withdraw itself and the economy from the responsibility for unemployment, the housing disaster, starving of the elderly etc. And how long it will be able to send them back into the misery it is producing itself all the time.

- For a long time now it is reality that the cops protect the fascists and beat down the anti-fascists, that they hunt down demonstrators to the death, for example Conny Wissmann, that they shoot, for example a few month ago in Frankfurt, and torture refugees with electro shocks etc.

- It is a question if german soldiers will march again against other nations and how long fascist regimes can go on to massacre the people with the weapons and support from here.

Only by struggles developed in society in all these questions – but these are of course not all – it will be decided if a political space for solutions can be obtained by fighting.

They will retreat by themselves at no point. Therefore pressure and struggles from society will be always necessary for our demands.

With the break of the escalation we made a step to open this political discussion. Now it is on the state's side to react. And because nobody today knows how they are going to react, we want to protect this process of discussion and construction. But if they destroy the people who take place in this process with their machine of repression and terror and still wage war against the people below, we will stop this retreat of escalation – in this case we will not look at this without doing anything.

If they fight us and all the people who struggle for a human society, they must know that they elites can not live either.

Even if it is not in our own interest: You can answer war only with war.

Red Army Fraction
April, the 10th, 1992

date: 24-04-92

from: antifa-bytes spinn.-berlin

subject: antifascist action against fascist-party
member (dead)

=====

In the night from friday to saturday, the 4th april, a member of the board of the fascist group 'deutsche liga für volk + heimat' (founded last year as a union of several fascist organisations) – Gerhard Kaindl – was stabbed.

According to the newspapers (Berliner Zeitung, Tagesspiegel) from the 6th to 8th april, 7 members of this group were guests in a chinese restaurant. During their stay they were recognized by a 'foreign-looking' person, who named them 'republicans' (name of one of the party in the above mentioned union). 2 hours after his leaving 6–8 masked persons entered and attacked the still present fascists. One of them was severely injured, another one stabbed.

Although no valid informations exist, the police assumes, that the attack had a political background, carried out by organized Turks or Arabs. A reinforced observation and criminalization of turkish and arabic self-defense and political organizations is to be expected.

In der Nacht vom Freitag zum Sonnabend, dem 4. April, ist ein Vorstandsmitglied der 'deutschen liga für volk + heimat' (im letzten Jahr als Zusammenschluß mehrerer faschistischer Organisationen gegründet) – Gerhard Kaindl – erstochen worden.

Nach Meldungen der Tageszeitungen (Berliner Zeitung, Tagesspiegel) vom 6. – 8. April, wurden 7 Mitglieder dieser Gruppe in einem chinesischen Restaurant von einem 'ausländisch aussehenden' Mann als 'republikaner' bezeichnet. 2 Stunden, nachdem er das Lokal verlassen hatte, griffen 6–8 verummte Personen die noch anwesenden Faschisten an. Einer von ihnen wurde schwer verletzt, ein anderer erstochen.

Obwohl keine Beweise existieren, geht die Polizei davon aus, daß der Angriff einen politischen Hintergrund hatte und von organisierten Türken oder Arabern ausgeführt wurde. Eine verstärkte Observierung und Kriminalisierung türkischer und arabischer Selbstverteidigungs- und politischer Organisationen ist zu befürchten

date : 920409 920426

from : aps

subject : A million women march! USA Washington abort

From: nyxfer%panix.com UMCVMB.missouri.edu (N.Y. Transfer)

Subject: NEWS: A million women march

Date: 9 Apr 92

Via The NY Transfer News Service All the News that Doesn't Fit

A million women march!

By Brenda Sandburg
Washington

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Nearly a million people, mostly women, marched on Washington April 5 to demand full reproductive rights for all women. It was the most massive pro-choice demonstration ever, and one of the biggest civil rights marches in U.S. history.

The participation of young women was especially noteworthy. They came from communities and campuses across the country, in buses and cars, by the dozens and hundreds. Clearly angry at the threat to their right to control their own bodies, they infused the huge protest with a sense of urgency and militancy.

The lesbian and gay community was also well represented. When a speaker asked lesbians and gay men to identify themselves, a sea of hands was raised.

Although the crowd was predominantly white, there were contingents from communities of color. These included a busload of African American welfare recipients from Michigan and a group of Black and Latino students from York College in Queens, N.Y.

The Ladies Garment Workers union sent several buses filled with Black, Latina and Asian women workers. For the most part, however, the labor movement did not mobilize. Union contingents could have swelled the march with tens of thousands of oppressed women who are among those with the most at stake in the struggle to defend reproductive rights. But the AFL-CIO has refused to take a position on the issue.

The National Organization for Women and the National Abortion Rights Action League sponsored the protest, spurred by the intensifying attack on women's rights. Marchers said they were there to let the Bush administration, Congress, the Supreme Court and state legislatures know that women won't go back to fear, humiliation and brutalization.

The action came just as the Supreme Court is about to hear oral arguments on a Pennsylvania law. The case could result in a ruling to overturn the High Court's 1973 decision in *Roe vs. Wade* that established abortion as a "fundamental" constitutional right.

As it is, years of attacks have already whittled away at the right to choice. Poor women in 30 states are blocked from Medicaid payment for abortion. Abortion services are medically unavailable in 83 percent of U.S. counties. Several states require parental or husband notification. Third World women continue to be subjected to forced sterilization, welfare mothers are losing their state benefits, and lesbians are faced with ongoing violence and discrimination.

'We won't go back!'

Over 60 speakers addressed rallies at the beginning and end of the march. They included representatives from women's, students', civil rights, lesbian and gay, and religious groups. Thirty-eight capitalist politicians--members of and candidates for the House and Senate--spoke.

Ginny Montes, NOW national secretary, chaired the rally. NOW President Patricia Ireland and several other officials of the group also spoke.

Other speakers included Marian Kramer of the National Welfare Rights Union; Faye Wattleton and Dr. Kenneth Edelin, former and current presidents of Planned Parenthood; and United Farm Workers Vice President Dolores Huerta.

Also speaking were Leona Smith, president of the National Union of the Homeless; Coalition of Labor Union Women President Joyce Miller; Urvashi Vaid of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; Tajel Shah, president of the United States Student Association; Rev. Ignacio Castuera; "Thelma and Louise" screenwriter Callie Khouri; and several well-known actors.

Jewell Jackson McCabe of the National Coalition of 100 Black Women addressed the racist assault on

reproductive rights. Third World and poor women bear the brunt of restricted access to abortion and other services. In 1969 alone, 75 percent of deaths from illegal abortions were women of color.

Dr. Susan Wicklund was one of several physicians who spoke. After she attended the 1989 pro-choice rally in Washington, Wicklund said, she decided to commit herself to providing services for women. She rearranged her medical practice and now spends every week flying among three rural Midwest states where she is the only doctor performing abortions. Anti-abortion reactionaries have attacked her, harassed her young daughter and threatened their lives. But she said she will never stop providing reproductive medical services to women.

Rev. Jesse Jackson galvanized the crowd with a fiery talk that linked the issue of choice to the struggle against racism, the fight to defend welfare rights and the needs of women workers. He also called on everyone to support the Haitian people and demand an end to deportations of Haitian refugees.

Susan Faludi, author of "Backlash--The Undeclared War Against American Women," vividly described what women endured before 1973.

Her mother suffered and survived an illegal abortion. Faludi said her mother finally ended up in a hospital hemorrhaging, went into labor and gave birth to a fetus that had been rotting inside her for six months.

Carol Moseley Braun, an African American running for the Senate from Illinois, also spoke. She upset Democratic incumbent Alan Dixon in the primary last month. If elected she will be the first Black woman to be a member of the Senate. Braun paid tribute to Anita Hill, saying Hill's stand against sexual harassment motivated her to run for the Senate.

Bill Bell Jr. pledged his family's commitment to the struggle. His sister Becky Bell was a teenager who died from a botched abortion last year. Indiana law requires minors to get their parents' permission for an abortion. Because she was afraid to tell her parents she was pregnant, Becky Bell got a back-alley abortion that killed her. The Bells now travel the country warning that parental notification laws kill young women.

Buffalo, N.Y., next battleground

Many speakers and protesters referred to "Operation Rescue" and its impending assault on

women's clinics in Buffalo, N.Y. The upcoming Supreme Court decision in the case of Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania vs. Casey was also a major focus.

The Supreme Court will hear arguments in the Pennsylvania case on April 22. The case involves a state law that prohibits married women from obtaining an abortion without first notifying the husband, and requires all women to delay having an abortion until 24 hours after receiving an anti-choice lecture.

The day after almost a million people marched for choice, the Bush administration filed a friend-of-the-court brief calling for the court to overturn Roe vs. Wade. "In our view, a state's interest in protecting fetal life throughout pregnancy, as a general matter, outweighs a woman's liberty interest in an abortion," read the brief.

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This article originally appeared in Workers World newspaper. A 10-week trial subscription is available for \$2. A year's subscription costs \$15. Makes checks payable to Workers World, and send to 46 W. 21 St., New York, NY 10010. Phone (212) 255-0352.

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4

File : **palestin.wom**

date : 920328 920426

from : nlns aps

**subject : palestinian women: empowerment
and the intifada**

From: PENN MITLNS.MIT.EDU (steve penn 26-567, 253-1521 Remember Our Humanity; Science is Not Neutral; MIT War Research Kills.)

Included below is an article from the New Liberation News Service (NLNS) Packet 2.7 (supplemental) -- our autoposter is posting one article at a time from this 168K file. To receive the full file, use the GET command (see bottom) on the file NLNS PACKET ; to find out more about NLNS, use GET on NLNS BROCHURE and/or email Steve Penn at the above address.

To find out more about the PROG-PUBS (Progressive Publications) email mailing list, use GET on CAMPUS PROGPUBS, or contact RJ Hinde at rjh1 midway.uchicago.edu
--Harel B.

NLNS Packet 2.7b - 24 March 1992

Palestinian Women: Empowerment and the Intifada
Frederique Amrouni and Alia Toukan, The McGill Daily

Palestinian women have played a crucial role in the national struggle for independence in the Occupied Territories. This role enabled a partial emancipation from the restrictions of their patriarchal society. But, deeply-rooted social norms, coupled with Israeli oppression, have created obstacles in their daily struggle for freedom.

"The current Palestinian uprising was made possible and continues because it is sustained and supported by Palestinian women," said Lea Tsemel, an Israeli female lawyer. She defended Palestinians in the courts before the government prohibited her from working.

With the defeat of the Arab powers in the 1967 war, the Palestinian struggle took a turn towards popular political activism. This shift in focus became most apparent in December 1987, with the launching of the Intifada (uprising) against the occupying forces in Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

Increased popular resistance to the Israeli occupation, emphasized the need for more grass-

roots organizations such as the already active women's unions. With thousands of men in prisons, women began to fill the vacuum which was created in many sectors of the community.

Through their work, they challenged the traditional economic division of labor.

Alternative institutions provided services and community infrastructure to replace those imposed by the Israeli government's Civil Administration. As part of a boycott of Israeli goods, Palestinian women's cooperatives in the West Bank increased their output of certain food stuffs.

The West Bank and Gaza Strip had been Israel's second largest export market after the United States.

Increasingly, women were found in the front lines of demonstrations organized against the Israeli occupiers. In the first ten months of the Intifada, 20 to 25 per cent of the casualties were women. The United National Leadership of the Uprising remained flexible in order to avoid being dismantled by the Israeli army. This enabled women to assume leadership roles in political and communal committees.

The Current Struggle

Today, Palestinian women are fighting the Israeli authorities and occupying forces, and the traditional patriarchal structure and male dominance. Israeli soldiers show no gender discrimination in their assaults on the Palestinian population. Unveiled Palestinian women are often harassed on the assumption that they are political activists. Some women refuse to overtly participate in demonstrations for fear of becoming a "known face" to the occupying authorities.

A new representative of "Islamic fundamentalism," Hamas has appeared on the political scene and instigated some youths to harass unveiled Palestinian women. Controversy has arisen about these attacks.

But Hamas leaders claim that the veil, particularly in the Occupied Territories, is a symbol of piety, integrity and honor. They argue the veil is a symbol of Palestinian national identity and their common struggle against the Israeli occupiers. Palestinian women argue that wearing a veil is a personal choice. They demand the liberation of their nation be preceded by the liberation of women.

Confronted with these forms of aggression, women have not remained passive. Activists initiate demonstrations which bring them face to face with Israeli soldiers on a daily basis. They protect young Palestinian boys from soldiers' boots and rifle butts. Unveiled Palestinian female activists defy Hamas by seeking support and protection from their political organizations. The United National Leadership of the Uprising called for the attacks to

end and for the valuable contributions of Palestinian women to be recognized.

Limits to Emancipation

There are limits to such noble declarations. Palestinian society has experienced dramatic change with the resistance. Since the beginning of the Intifada, a great number of Palestinians, notably women and the rural population, have been able to participate in the political struggle.

The mobilization of women is no longer restricted to the urban middle-class. But it does not necessarily imply equal status and political power in comparison to men.

"Our position in the political struggle has changed, but our position in social life has not," said Najwa, a women's committee activist.

Women's involvement in P.L.O. committees and decision-making bodies is still limited. They remain noticeably underrepresented. Issues pertaining to women are rarely addressed and often only in order to guarantee broad popular support. Appeals for solidarity against the Zionist forces are sometimes used to sidetrack the legitimate demands of women.

The decision-making process of the leadership of the Intifada is much less restrictive than prior organizations. Yet Palestinian feminists are uncertain as to how women's role in committees is valued. This indicates a real lack of due recognition. Many Palestinian women are eager to move away from traditional female functions, such as family support, day-cares and charitable organizations.

Palestinian women must continue to fight for recognition of their equality and independence in the context of the political struggle in order to avoid the fate of their Algerian counterparts.

"The point is that women have to change their ideas about themselves. We are struggling for independence but we don't want to compromise our role as women," said a women activist.

Like other revolutions or struggles for national independence, whether in the West or in the East, women's rights remain largely unfulfilled. Palestinian feminists and activists are up against more than the Israeli army. But the occupying forces are still the main source of instability for Palestinian society.

The empowerment of women is an obvious source of strength for the national Palestinian struggle for independence.

SIDEBAR: A Historical Perspective

Palestinian women have progressively acquired heightened political awareness. Originally, their liberation depended primarily on their social status and religious affiliation.

employ covert methods such as infiltration that deeply penetrate the private sphere without any legal regulations and safeguards, where relative less harmful techniques such as wiretapping come under strict rules. We have to conclude, he says, that in the domain of leftist terrorism the V-mann (infiltrator) method has led us nowhere. Jachmann also expressed surprise at the resistance of many of his colleagues to agree with a list of permitted intelligence methods and techniques in legislation. "In my thirty years experience I have not come across any really new means", so there are no solid arguments against such an exhausting enumeration. Also the Verfassungsschutz should not have the virtual monopoly of definition it now has in practice, by which it can label specific persons or groups as enemies of the constitution.

When asked what good the LfV Bremen was for ordinary people, Jachmann claimed several recent successful operations against Turkish intelligence (MIT) that was harassing immigrants and their relatives back home. Several other seminar participants then cited examples of "friendly" intelligence services behaving not too friendly. Renate Kuenast, who as an MP for Buendnis 90/Die Gruenen in Berlin is a member of the intelligence oversight commission, added to this that in Berlin Mossad operatives had recently been given access to Palestinians under questioning in police custody.

When speaking about the violent extreme rightists as a new legitimization for the Verfassungsschutz, Jachmann explained that "we have written to those politicians responsible that they should stop making statements on shortened procedures for refugees on airports etc.", because coming from respectable authorities such statements encourage racist violence.

In an page-long article in the Berlin Tageszeitung on March 30, German researcher Falco Werkentin tried to put the present image of the former East Germans as a people of squealers and denunciators in a proper perspective. Using confidential BKA statistics, Werkentin shows that of the 10,000 to 15,000 Staatsschutz (state security) investigations initiated yearly in former West Germany, some 60 to 70% originated from information voluntarily provided by civilians. Most of these "political crimes" are in the sphere of espionage, treason, "terrorist" activities, public order violations during demonstrations, sabotage, press law violations and the like.

Equally interesting is the fact that although the number of Verfassungsschutz officials has risen from 2.480 in 1970 to some 5.100 in 1990, the percentage of Staatsschutz investigations that originated from Verfassungsschutz and other intelligence services indications steadily declined from

2.4% in the early 1970s to 0.3% in 1985 (no later figure is available). Werkentin concludes that such an ineffective organization had best be liquidated by the Treuhand, which has vast experience in closing down factories in the former GDR.

The heads of the Landesaeemter fuer Verfassungsschutz could not have been amused at their national meeting that same Monday: on the agenda was the new Verfassungsschutz public relations policy.

After a five-year juridical battle, the Ministry of the Interior of Niedersachsen agreed on March 23 to no longer consider the Humanistische Union (HU) an extremist organization just because it protested against the census in 1987. Landesamt fuer Verfassungsschutz (LfV) chief Peter Frisch, now vice-president of the Bundesamt fuer Verfassungsschutz, warned politicians in a confidential memorandum in January 1987 that critical publications in the press and the activities of groups such as the Green Party, the Young Democrats and the HU against the census constituted the most serious threat to it. In the same memo Frisch also warned that bomb attacks against the census could be expected.

The HU obtained a copy from a friendly politician and subsequently launched a fierce protest against what it considered a libellous accusation. Even a new progressive government, in which HU member Claus Henning Schapper (SPD) became responsible for the Niedersachsen LfV, could not bring itself to admit it had been overzealous. Now, forced by a Bundesverfassungsgericht judgment, the government finally stated it held different views on the matter than its predecessor and that the HU would in the future not be placed under LfV observation on the sole basis of holding similar views as enemies of the constitution.

date : 920426

from : Initiative group: stop the settlements aps

subject : Stop the Israelian settlements in Palestine / netherlands

Despite international (juridical) agreements on the Occupied Territories and the condemnation of the settlement policy, Israel manages to continue its policy. The aim is clear: definitive annexation and colonisation of these areas. Consequently Israel is not really interested in an international peace conference at the moment, fearing that this conference could put pressure on them to give up the Occupied Territories. Efforts are being made to protect the time and excuses are sought to let the conference break down as soon as possible. Therefore we should not have too high expectations of this conference directed by the United States. Another reason for this is that in the past the U.S never lifted a finger to find a solution for the Palestinians or put an end to the settlements, but rather did the opposite. The Israelian settlement policy is in a decisive phase at the moment. This gives us every reason to take action.

From day to day one can see the settlements grow in the Occupied Territories (West Bank, Gaza-strip, Golan Heights and East Jerusalem). These settlements are exclusively intended for Jewish Israelian colonists who come to settle here with their families.

The objective for the coming years is to double the number of colonists. On the other hand the utmost is done to make the life of the Palestinians impossible: houses are blown up or demolished, land is expropriated, water sources are annexed, building permissions not issued, trees and vegetation uprooted and the freedom of movement restricted by the pass system.

The existing settlements are extended and new ones are built around concentrations of Palestine villages and towns and along the Green Line (the border between the Occupied Territories and Israel). In this way the Palestine population is internally isolated in ghetto-like areas, thus trying to make any form of resistance impossible. Moreover, the area is divided by the construction of a new road-system, which guarantees the transport from, to and between the settlements, but has no connections with Palestine villages and towns.

Not only do Jewish Israelis settle in the Occupied Territories for ideological reasons, but also for fi-

nancial reasons. Many measures have been taken to make life in a settlement economically attractive. New colonists get subsidies, partly interest-free loans, free or cheap ground and have to contribute nothing to the construction of the infrastructure: advantages life in Israel does not have. This forces financial weaker Jewish Israelis to move to the Occupied Territories.

This Israeli population policy will be strongly carried through in the years to come; also due to the large numbers of new immigrants the pressure on the housing market increases considerably. Due to this pressure the Palestine population will slowly be suffocated and driven off and for those who stay only the position of secondclass citizen remains. So, Israel will deteriorate into an apartheid state.

For us it is clear that something will have to happen now. An active condemnation of Israel's settlement policy in the form of a boycott of Israelian products seems appropriate with the demand: a stop to the settlements in Palestine, both the new and the existing ones. With this boycott we want to exercise pressure on the Israeli economy, the only place where it will hurt. But also pressure on the politicians in the Netherlands to take action. They can be no peace in the Middle East before the rights of the Palestine people are respected.

To set the boycott in action we as initiative group have developed a number of activities: a newspaper giving information on the settlement policy, a poster and a leaflet. All these are made for national distribution and can be picked up or ordered free of charge at the address hereunder. Furthermore we want to place an advertisement in national newspapers with all the groups which support the demand. We invite everybody to do all kinds of actions: picketlines, handing out leaflets, entering into discussion with shops which sell Israelian products, hanging out banners, printing T-shirts, etc.

Initiative group: stop the settlements
The initiative group consists off people from the Autonom info/axieCentrum,

Contactaddress:
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Financial contributions giro 6131418 of Stichting Afval Amsterdam, mentioning Stop The Settlements.

date : 920426

from : aps

subject : News on policing, security, intelligence and the judiciary in The Netherlands, Feb-March 1992

On March 11, Dutch parliament had a two-hour debate about the sudden close-down of the Inlichtingendienst Buitenland (IDB-foreign intelligence service) last February.

Some MPs criticized Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers for bad management of the IDB, while others wondered whether Holland could do without a foreign intelligence service. How will contacts with sister services be conducted in future, and will Dutch officials still be able to operate in the international quid pro quo intelligence game?

PM Lubbers stressed that he would be hard pressed to name any other part of his General Affairs department to which he has devoted so much attention in recent years. He explained that mainly for financial reasons he had been doubting for years whether the IDB should continue to exist, but consumers of IDB-products had advised him to maintain an IDB capacity, be it in a much trimmed down fashion. The already fragile IDB position was further weakened by what Mr. Lubbers called the "leaking basket phenomenon". "This ended all my doubts" said the PM. He decided on Feb 6 to liquidate the IDB "because of the risks involved in working in a sieve", probably referring here to an highly sensitive mission of IDB personnel working "somewhere in the Middle East."

Mr. Lubbers explained that internal tensions in the IDB were caused to a certain extent by the organization's unclear tasks in relation to developments in a fast-changing world.

The Rijksrecherche, the independent judicial police, is still investigating possible criminal acts by IDB staff and personnel, including fraud, but also the leaking of classified information. At the same time the President of the Algemene Rekenkamer (General Accounting Office) looks into the financial aspects, but has so far not found any problems or irregularities.

At the end of the debate, Mr. Lubbers could reassure MPs on the possible loss of operational presence through the dismantling of the IDB: "The cover needs to be reorganized in order to allow the continuation of operations."

(comment) the investigative role of the president of the Rekenkamer could be questioned because he has been responsible for overseeing the IDB's classified spending in the first place, including

those of IDB cover organizations such as the Biathlon Foundation. All activities of this foundation, of which the head of the IDB, Mr. Meulmeester, and another staff member were members of the board, were ceased after disgruntled IDB personnel accused Meulmeester of pocketing over 100,000 guilders via this foundation. Meulmeester meanwhile still co-ordinates the IDB's anti-drug operations in Latin-America, now under the auspices of the Centrale Recherche Informatiedienst (Central criminal information service-CRI).

*

On March 24, Dutch parliament had an 6-hour debate on the Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst (BVD). Although virtually all parties expressed a desire to improve parliamentary oversight, problems of procedure were still in the way of a solution.

There were calls for the formation of a small independent oversight committee, and to extend the present parliamentary oversight committee (CIVD), membership of which is now limited to the chairmen of the four largest parties.

MPs repeated their request made a year ago that the CIVD would look into the implementation of these two options, but CIVD chairman Mr. Elco Brinkman made it clear that he strongly opposed this. He felt that it might endanger the preparedness of the minister and the BVD to provide the sensitive information necessary for oversight. MPs reluctantly concluded that they would have to seek other ways to realize their ideas.

Most MPs criticized the recent BVD report, especially in the stress it laid on the threat of Muslim fundamentalism compared to the virtual ignorance of racist violence. the minister of the interior Mrs Dales however defended the apparent imbalance by claiming that BVD investigations had shown that no extreme right party or organization was involved in the recent wave of attacks against the houses and businesses of immigrants. The perpetrators according to Mrs. Dales were now thought to be fringe group youths, who used varying names and primitive devices in their attacks.

In discussing some alarming recent press publications on the "explosive situation" within the BVD, both the minister Mrs.

Dales and Mr. Brinkman ensured MPs the allegations were totally unsubstantiated. Mrs. Dales quoted messages on the internal BVD E-mail system in which functionaries called the allegations "complete nonsense".

In discussing BVD information gathering on asylum seekers from the Aliens Department, Mrs. Dales explained that the BVD was routinely provided with the names and other basic data of certain agreed

categories of refugees seeking asylum. The BVD then ordered the complete files on the persons they were interested in, which occurred in some 130 cases in the last eight months. This resulted in about twenty BVD attempts to seek further information or collaboration from asylum seekers themselves. Mrs. Dales stressed that information on vulnerable individuals such as Iraqi or Kurdish refugees would never be provided to the security services of their home countries, but "when for instance a member of the Hezbollah seeks refugee here, we have to ask information from Israeli or U.S.

intelligence". Mrs. Dales claimed that the international exchange of information was strictly regulated in that information could only be used for the agreed purpose for which it was provided and that it could not be passed on without agreement of the original providing service (so-called "third country principle"). The BVD, she said, would not have direct access to the Schengen Information System: all requests had to be directed to the national NSIS institution via the CRI.

Furthermore, every new intelligence officer from a befriended country stationed in Holland was personally invited by the Head of the BVD Mr. Docters van Leeuwen, who would make clear that no independent intelligence activities were allowed without the informed consent of the Dutch government. Although KGB officers had repeatedly expressed an interest in collaboration, Mrs. Dales explained that hostile intelligence activities by the KGB were still carried out on Dutch soil so that cooperation in the field of counterterrorism or proliferation was not considered wise at this moment. However, friendly contacts with the Hungarian and Czech intelligence services have meanwhile been established. On questions of MPs regarding BVD interest in the activities of solidarity movements, the minister said that all potentially harmful activities undertaken from Dutch soil against other governments, even non-allies, constitute a violation of the international legal order and were therefore by definition a matter of concern for the BVD.

CIVD recently agreed on further reduction of O & I services (Dutch Gladio). In an answer to earlier questions on alleged private funding of the networks, CIVD chairman Mr. Brinkman refused to go any further than to say that the committee had been informed and that the explanation given was satisfactory.

Finally, parliament was informed that an ad hoc committee has been formed to oversee the destruction of the BVD archives.

Members are G. Zoutendijk, J. de Ruiter and S. Miedema.

MPs have now run up against a substantial political blockade against improvements of oversight. No

one dared to state that the present oversight committee isn't effective, since this would imply a disagreement with the party chairman and indeed a vote of no confidence in his ability. Mrs. Dales didn't intervene in these issues because she clearly felt the mechanism of this trusted MP committee now served its purpose quite well in discouraging other MPs from prying in confidential matters. In debating the recent attacks against immigrants, MPs, not having any information on the results of police and BVD investigations, were not in a position to contradict Mrs. Dales when she played down the seriousness and professionalism of the perpetrators. She claimed BVD evidence showed the perpetrators were probably fringe group youngsters. In a reaction to this, the The Hague police publicly dissociated itself from this analysis. "The attacks in our town do show a pattern of connections. We are investigating in right-wing circles because of the choice of the objects and the way in which the attacks are claimed or announced. The minister's statements are completely on her account" a police spokesman said. Following this, Mrs. Dales had to admit in parliament that the BVD and the The Hague municipal police apparently held diverging views on the nature of the suspected perpetrators of the racist bomb attacks.

*

The combined police-BVD investigation team LCT-2 on the Rara bombings of secretary of Justice Kosto's house and the ministry of the Interior building in protest against immigration policy, late 1991, has published a statement in which it protests against its virtual closing down by the ministry of Justice. The reason given is that after five months the team fails to produce results, while the costs so far have far exceeded a million guilders. The ministry of justice can no longer justify spending large amounts of money on the Rara team which it withholds from the fight against drugs and organized crime.

Therefore the LCT-2 secret central office will be shut down, and the detectives and BVD operatives will return to their own bureaus and offices. Also the specially leased cars and technical and logistical support will be withdrawn, which in effect all but ends the operation. A Ministry of Justice spokesman stated that investigations will be continued for the rest of 1992, with a reduced budget of "several 100,000 guilders."

This management decision of the ministry of Justice comes as another blow to the already problematic police-BVD cooperation. The working atmosphere within the team was reportedly tense, with law enforcement and intelligence officers withholding information and even spying on one

another. The lack of success that's now admitted will not do much good for the BVD's prestige. Only last week minister of the Interior Mrs Dales had to admit that the BVD and the The Hague municipal police held conflicting views on the suspected circles of perpetrators of racist attacks and bombings against migrant shops and houses in The Hague since late 1991.

*

The Municipal public transport service in Amsterdam will shortly start an experiment with pocket computers to counter fare dodging. The pocket computer will contain all the address information from the telephone directory on a CD-ROM disk. Thus the ticket inspector can immediately check a fare dodger's name, house number and zip code (which in Holland covers about 15 addresses). If the supplied information doesn't match with the database, the dodger is required to show a passport or similar document to verify the information. In case this doesn't satisfy the inspector either, the person will escorted to a police station. In anticipation of this experiment, the inspectors now carry portable telephone sets enabling them to check with the Public Register.

*

The area in the Amsterdam inner city where special public order measures are enforced to fight drugs nuisance has been enlarged substantially on the Mayor's orders. The decision was taken because a significant part of the nuisance connected with the selling of drugs in the streets moved to other parts of town as a consequence of the stricter policing on drugs selling in the inner city. In the area where the "gathering interdiction" is enforced it is forbidden to openly possess, consume or sell narcotics. Also the carrying of knives is not allowed, as well as causing a public nuisance by certain behavior, fighting and intimidating the general public. Those persons known to the police as drugs users or dealers are not allowed to gather in the streets with more than four people.

In case of violation of these rules, the police can order a person not to come into the area for a period of eight hours.

Ignoring such an order for five times in a row will result in a two week ban from the area. The authorities now contemplate extending the "gathering interdiction" to some areas outside the inner city in case the nuisance by drugs users will not lessen there.

*

Late March, the Dutch cabinet presented the bill that will regulate the new regional police structure. With it the cabinet intends to improve the quality of policing and turn the police into a more effective crime fighting force.

According to schedule, the whole reorganization should be completed in April 1993. Holland will then have 25 regional police forces and a bureau for national police services. The regional forces will be supervised by the mayor of the largest city in the region, who has to work together closely with the chief Public Prosecutor and the chief of police. He will be accountable to a regional council consisting of the mayors of all the towns in the district and the chief Public Prosecutor.

This council will also administer the yearly budget and the general policy of the regional force. The minister of Justice will be in charge of the national bureau. Many experts, including the Raad van State (State Council, the government's most prominent advisory body), have severely criticized the apparent lack of democratic control over the police in this new structure, especially since Dutch mayors are not elected but appointed by the queen. Both cabinet and parliament however have so far chosen to ignore this. In the new situation, a mayor will be accountable to his town council for police policy as he is now, but in most cases he will only have a minor say in the regional council governing the police.

Here he can be faced with as many as thirty colleagues and the office of the Public prosecutor, all with conflicting interests. The mayor's authority over the police in his town with regard to public order and safety will remain unaffected.

*

The four special arrest squads of the Rijkspolitie (Dutch State Police) are undermanned. One of the causes is the uncertainty over the future of the teams after the coming police reorganization. A recent survey calculated that this reorganization will exceed the budget estimates made so far by at least 95 million guilders.

*

The Moons Commission, a judicial advisory commission to the Dutch cabinet for the "rationalization" of criminal and judicial procedures, is currently debating some far-reaching proposals. A sub-committee of "Moons" has drafted the suggestion to convict suspects only on their own statements and confession, without the separate legal and convincing proof that is now needed. Such a shortened and simplified procedure, which also exists in Anglo-saxon countries, Italy and

Germany, would greatly contribute to the efficiency of the legal process. This new suggestion came so unexpectedly that so far no critical comments have been voiced, but one could expect strong opposition if it came to a formal advice. The Moons commission is expected to present its final report coming September.

*

The Rijkspolitie during a massive raid in March on a distribution company in Geldermalsen has arrested four illegal alien workers. 120 police officers were brought in by riot police busses and once inside the company building immediately began separating white from colored personnel. The entire operation was videotaped by police, while a helicopter circled over the area to spot possible escaping illegal workers. A total of seventy colored people who could not identify themselves at the spot where transported to the police HQ.

Some of them had to stay there all day because they weren't able to reach anyone who could bring their identification papers. In the end four workers could not proof their legal status. MP's of the Green Left party questioned the ministers of Justice and Social Affairs on the operation, which they described as "hard-handed, discourteous and discriminating."

The police deny that any discriminating acts have taken place.

*

The Dutch ministry of Justice has a confidential list for internal usage of countries to which asylum seekers can be returned without problems. The existence of such a list has been denied by a ministry spokesperson, but there is a clear mentioning of it in recent confidential minutes of a meeting of officials. It is not known which countries are on the list.

The minutes say that there is an "internal" list of countries to which refugees can be returned, but no references to this list are to be made in the official order. The minutes further indicate that almost all asylum seekers are offered a "tolerated status" even when the asylum seeker has a strong case. This means that also in cases that can lead to granting a full political asylum status, the ministry of Justice tries to get the refugee to accept a "tolerated status" that offers far less rights. This "tolerated status" implies that in the first three years, whenever the government decides that the situation in the country of origin has improved, the refugee can be expelled.

On the basis of new regulations that came into power last January, almost half the asylum seekers

will be detained in new half-closed relief centers. These are centers surrounded by a fence where the asylum seeker is supplied with a magnetic identity card. He or she has to report twice daily and there is a guarded entrance. According to secretary of Justice Kosto the refugees are allowed to leave at any time, but only in one direction: out of the country.

The ministry of Justice wants to tackle the problem of illegal immigrants travelling to Holland on forged travel documents in the country of origin. Dutch marechaussees (military police) will soon begin advising the local authorities in Ghana and Nigeria on recognizing forged documents. The marechaussees will not be stationed in Africa permanently, but they will accompany people who are expelled from Holland and subsequently stay for some days to work on their new task. The project is expected to start this summer. Refugee organizations have severely criticized the plan because "real" asylum seekers often have no access to legitimate travel documents.

*

The rijkspolitie (state police) has announced it will not undertake anymore infiltration operations in the near future.

This decision has been made in reaction to several recent trials in which the court demanded to know the names of undercover officers. The rijkspolitie is afraid the names of its officers will become known to criminal elements. The office of the Public Prosecutor will soon meet with rijkspolitie officials to discuss the problems. Since 1985 police undercover officers increasingly infiltrate in the underworld. During the judicial inquiry they make a statement to the examining judge on their activities. At this occasion, the officers identify themselves with a number and wear disguises such as wigs. A superior officer then confirms that the agent is in fact a police officer. Undercover agents of the municipal police forces do give their names to the examining judge.

*

Former Amsterdam police officers in cooperation with the police recently started a Risk Advice Center which specializes in selling professional advice on corporate security and risk control to the business community. The advice centre is staffed with pensioned police officers and others with adequate experience. The foundation is completely independent and has no connection with the regular police budget. Officers in active service can however with the approval of their superiors give special courses for clients. The Amsterdam police

Palestinian Christian women were often part of the middle-class and, consequently, education and political organizations were more readily accessible to them. Muslim women also became increasingly involved in community affairs and by 1903 a charitable women's organization was created.

This organization was mostly apolitical and non-influential. In conjunction with other groups it set up nursing, relief and educational networks. It also became active in the Palestinian struggle for independence. Women emerged onto the political scene, as a result of the British mandate, by participating in the anti-Zionist demonstrations.

In the aftermath of the 1948 war, a few women began to take up the armed struggle alongside their male counterparts.

With the creation of the P.L.O. in 1964, women's organizations were established. The General Union for Palestinian Women was set up in 1965 and proceeded to create centers for the children of the martyrs, literacy classes, hospitals, family support networks and various workshops.

Women were very active in the Palestine Red Crescent Society, created in 1965 providing medical services. They also participated in the Palestinian Martyr's Work Society (PMWS), established in 1970, providing vocational training to families. In Lebanon, women accounted for more than half of the 5,000 PMWS employees.

Later, these organizations were activated by women of the diaspora living abroad, working in Palestinian communities. They now operate as a main source of support in an attempt to inform the host population of the Palestinian's plight.

The McGill Daily can be reached at 3840 McTavish, room B-03, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 1X9; (514) 398-6784.

5 File : bookrev.fas

date : 920416 920426

from : peter klerks aps

subject : German book on extreme right and international contacts

The German "Antifascistischen Autorenkollektiv Berlin" published a book "Drahtzieher im Braunen Netz, der Wiederaufbau der NSDAP" (Berlin; Amsterdam: Edition ID-Archiv, 1992, ISBN 3-89408-022-1, 176 pp., dfl 26,80. Address: ID-Archiv im Internationalen Institut fuer Sozialgeschichte, Cruquiusweg 31, NL-1019 AT Amsterdam) on the growing extreme right movement in Germany and its international connections.

The book provides many details and hundreds of names and organizations and it is richly illustrated with dozens of pictures of neonazi prominent figures and heavyweights.

* Origin: APS Amsterdam, bbs +31-20-6894198 (16:31/1)

date : 920426
from : comitee schluss mit den snueffelstaat @
aps
subject : "Widerstand gegen Europol" / written
in german

Einladung zur Tagung
"Widerstand gegen Europol"
in Bern (CH) am Samstag, 20. Juni 1992

*

Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen,
Obwohl ein Offizieller EG-Beitritt der Schweiz noch in weiter Ferne steht, versuchen die Bundesbehoerden gerade im "Ueberwachungsbereich" sich moeglichst eng an Europa anzubinden, das Europa der Ueberwacher zu unterstuetzen.

Nachdem im November 1989 bekannt wurde, dass die Schweizerische Bundesanwaltschaft ueber 900,000 Personen (zwei Drittel davon Auslaenderinnen und Auslaender) Registraturkarten und Akten fuehrt, gruendeten engagierte und betroffene Personen unter Komitee, u.a. mit dem Ziel, die Politische Polizei, die Schnueffelpolizei, abzuschaffen, den Betroffenen zu ihrem Akteneinsichtsrecht zu verhelfen.

Praeventiv beobachtet und registriert wird in der Schweiz nach wie vor ohne genuegende gesetzliche Grundlage. Ein Entwurf fuer ein dazu notwendiges Staatsschutzgesetz liegt unterdessen vor, nicht zuletzt soll auch dieses Gesetz Europa-kompatibel werden. Es gilt daher auch fuer uns, den Widerstand gegen Europol aufzubauen.

Dazu moechten wir mit einer Tagung vom Samstag, dem 20. Juni 92, den Anfang machen. Vorgaengig sazu planen wir - zusammen mit Euch allen - eine Pressekonferenz, an welcher Ihr Gelegenheit haettet, Eure Widerstandsarbeit vorzustellen anhand von Beispielen, Broschueren und einer kurzen muendlichen Einfuehrung/Darstellung Eurer Organisation. Diese Pressekonferenz - so ist es geplant - soll am Freitag, den 19.

Juni 1992, ca. 15.00 Uhr, stattfinden. An der Tagung selbst vom Samstag bieten wir Euch Gelegenheit, mit einem Informationsstand Eure Unterlagen zu verkaufen, mit den TagungsteilnehmerInnen Kontakt aufzunehmen usw.

Wir stellen uns vor, dass Ihr je ein Person aus Eurer Vereinigung/Organisation an unsere Tagung delegieren koennt.

Fuer Uebernachtungsmoeglichkeiten koennen wir Euch - im Rahmen der Zug-Fahrpreise - einen Beitrag an Eure Reisekosten leisten.

Wir freuen uns seher auf Eure Mitarbeit und moechten Euch bitten, die beiliegende Anmeldung auszufuellen und bis spaetestens Ende April 1992 an uns zurueckzuschicken, damit wir das definitive Programm gestalten koennen.

Selbstverstaendlich stehen wir Euch fuer Rueckfragen gerne zur Verfuegung, allerdings ist unser Buero vom 13.-15. April 1992 ferienhalber geschlossen (auch wir brauchen mal eine Verschnaufpause). Das genaue Programm fuer die beiden Tage werden wir Euch dann anfangs Mai so rasch als moeglich zuschicken.

Mit besten Gruessen
Catherine Weber

*

Anmeldung einschicken bis spaetestens 30. April 1992

an: Komitee Schluss mit den Schnueffelstaat
Postfach 6948
3001 Bern-Schweiz
fax: 0041 31 452258
tel: 0041 31 454858

date : 920421 @ 920426
from : peter klerks @ aps
subject : German police magazine on antifascist movement /ecn!

German authorities consider antifascist movement a security threat.

In the March issue of the German police magazine "Kriminalistik", journalist Matthias Mletzko describes the antagonism between right wing extremists and antifascists as a considerable security problem for the near future.

In the 5-page article, "Die "ANTIFA"-Kampagne autonomer Gruppen", Mletzko sketches what he sees as a historical continuum between the pre-war KPD communist party and Rot Frontkaempfer (Red Front Fighters) and the present militant antifascist movement in Germany. He points at common slogans and cites texts from violent "antifascist" groups to point out their preparedness under certain conditions to commit political murders. Mletzko says that the concept of "fascism" is stretched to include "western imperialism" and criticized government policy in the field of migrants. Antifascism, he says, has always been an instrument of orthodox communist organizations for poli-

tical manipulation and disinformation, and is now serving as a mobilization theme for left extremists. Mletzko continues by quoting a number of antifascist magazines and newsletters such as "Radikal" and "Antifascistische Nachrichten", thus illustrating a.o. the financial support of British groups for German militants after publications in the British antifascist magazine Searchlight. He describes the efforts to build up antifascist networks and organizations, and sums up violent antifascist attacks late 1991 on right wing meetings and buildings, on newspaper offices in Goettingen and on the police. Special emphasis is given to an international congress of some 2,000 militants in Venice in June 1991, which according to Mletzko resulted in the antifascist organizations reaching a new level of professionalism. A clear indication of this would be the "European Counter Network (ECN)", an on-line network of computers distributing leftist information. On an international meeting of "Infoladen" (info-shops) in Heidelberg in November 1991, it was claimed that like-minded groups from Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Spain and Switzerland were preparing to join this computer network. Also the German antifascists would have intensified contacts with organizations such as Dev Sol and the PKK.

Statistics of the German Bundeskriminalamt for 1991 show that right wing acts of violence (2 murders, 375 fire- and explosive attacks, 369 cases of bodily harm, 572 cases of damage) far outnumber leftist acts of violence (2 killings (RAF attempts on Rohwedder and Klein) and 166 fire- and explosive attacks). However, Mletzko argues that the left wing militant movement is the more dangerous one, because it has developed a much higher level of organization and has managed to attain more intelligent planning and tactics.

Earlier articles of interest on this theme, with detailed information on right wing extremist organizations, appeared in Kriminalistik in October 1991 (Bernd Wagner, Landeskriminalamt Berlin, "Eldorado fuer Neonazis?" on the situation re. right wing extremism in the Laender of the former GDR) and January 1992 (Wolfgang Steinke, BKA, "Gewalt gegen Auslaender" on the new right wing militancy).

* Origin: APS Amsterdam, bbs +31-20-6894198 (16:31/1)

8 File : nf5reque.tur

date : 920426
from : peter klerks @ aps
subject : Turkish NF-5 bombers against Kurds?

Turkish NF-5 bombers against Kurds?

MRM is a Dutch monthly magazine dedicated to human rights and supported by a.o. the Dutch section of Amnesty International. We have repeatedly received indications that Turkish Northrop F-5 fighter-bombers have been deployed against the Kurdish population. These planes were supplied some years ago by the Dutch government as part of a NATO assistance program. The Dutch government could be forced to put pressure on Turkey if there was clear evidence of a violation of the conditions under which the planes were originally supplied. So far however nobody has been able to get any solid verification of actual NF-5 deployment over Kurdistan.

We therefore ask anyone who has authentic photo or video material or other relevant information on this matter to contact MRM by answering this E-mail message or by telephone (++31 20 638 3826), fax (++31 20 625 4991) or regular mail (P.O. Box 17157, 1001 JD Amsterdam, the Netherlands).

Thank you very much for your help,
Peter Klerks, editor Mensenrechtenmagazine MRM

* Origin: APS Amsterdam, bbs +31-20-6894198 (16:31/1)

9

File : market.pri

date : 920423 @ 920426
from : peter klerks @ aps
subject : market for personal identity products
/privacy

Growth Market: Keeping Track of Who's Who?

The current \$1.7 billion U.S. domestic market in personal identity products will increase by 19 percent in the coming year and by 173 percent by 1995. The overseas market for American companies will increase from its current \$2.6 billion by comparable percentages, according to a 571-page analysis from Frost & Sullivan International, which has office at 106 Fulton St., New York, N.Y. 10038, and 4, Grosvenor Gardens, London SW1W 0DH. Bar code devices account for 70 percent of the market in automated identity equipment, followed distantly by printers for bar codes (12.4%) and by magnetic strip products (7.5%). Frost & Sullivan are cautious about newer technologies, like biometrics(0.6%) and voice recognition (2.2%), saying that prices are too high right now for widespread applications. Other percentages are: RF/ID 3.0%, Machine Vision 3.0%, OCR 0.9%, Smart Cards 0.4%.

(source: Privacy Journal (USA) Dec. 1991)

* Origin: APS Amsterdam, bbs +31-20-6894198
(16:31/1)

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10

File : nl0426a3.jus

date : 920407 @ 920326
from : @aps
subject : Counterterrorist Rarateam virtually
dismantled

Counterterrorist Rarateam virtually dismantled The Hague, 7 April 1992

The combined police-BVD investigation team LCT-2 on the Rara bombings of secretary of Justice Kosto's house and the ministry of the Interior building late 1991 has published a statement in which it protests against its virtual closing down by the ministry of Justice. The reason given is that after five months the team fails to produce results,

while the costs so far have far exceeded a million guilders.

The ministry of justice can no longer justify spending large amounts of money on the Rara team which it withholds from the fight against drugs and organized crime. Therefore the LCT-2 secret central office will be shut down, and the detectives and BVD operatives will return to their own bureaus and offices.

Also the specially leased cars and technical and logistical support will be withdrawn, which in effect all but ends the operation. A Ministry of Justice spokesman stated that investigations will be continued for the rest of 1992, with a reduced budget of "several 100,000 guilders.

* Origin: APS Amsterdam, bbs +31-20-6894198
(16:31/1)

::: eof

11

File : gerintel.jus

date : 920426
from : aps
subject : Some intelligence news from Ger-
many.

Some intelligence news from Germany.

Lothar Jachmann, second in command of the Bremen Landesamt fuer Verfassungsschutz (LfV) which employs some 75 personnel, claimed at a seminar organized by the Green Party in Berlin on 27-29 March 1992 that counterespionage was an anachronism. In the end it was really an Indian game, and to East German espionage chief Marcus Wolf our counterintelligence was an open book.

Jachmann, with 30 years experience in counterterrorism and domestic security, warned that the Verfassungsschutz would not live to see the year 2000 if it wouldn't get its act together.

This could have serious consequences, for police authorities would be all too willing to take over. "We already have to rap their knuckles regularly to keep them out of the political intelligence field" says Jachmann. He explained that the doctrine on leftist extremism and terrorism has changed over the last three years. The Verfassungsschutz no longer considers itself a part of the investigation apparatus, but tries to offer political solutions for what are now considered political problems. Jachmann expressed surprise at the willingness with which politicians permit the Verfassungsschutz to

directorate has stated that the center has been established because the police itself lacks sufficient resources to adequately assist companies in the area of security management. The center will not get involved in any actual security and guarding activities.

*

The ministry of Justice and the business community will shortly initiate a joint effort to combat organized crime in Holland. In May, a national crime control platform will be established in which the police, the office of the Public Prosecutor, private companies and local authorities will coordinate policy-implementations against "mafia-like organizations".

*

At the end of March, the Dutch cabinet has proposed a bill on a limited obligatory identification which will allow enforcement of laws and regulations in the field of moonlighting, fraud, fare dodging, money laundering, soccer hooliganism and the like. Identification will be by passport or by means of an identity card that has yet to be developed.

Situations in which mandatory identification can be demanded are at the place of work, at social welfare bureaus, in public transport when fare-dodging, at soccer matches, at checks on illegal aliens, at the notary's office, when taking on a new job vis-a-vis the employer, and in certain financial transactions at banks. Those who fail to present a proper identification will be punishable according to the new bill. A definite decision on the width of the identification obligations will be made after the summer when the Raad van State has presented its advice on the bill. The postponement of the decision results from conflicting views within the cabinet.

*

The ministers of Justice and Home Affairs are considering stricter rules on the use of firearms by the police. Police officers would not be allowed the drawing of their pistol when threatened with a syringe, a knife or similar objects. The police ministers want to restrict the use of firearms to criminals who themselves carry a loaded firearm or who pose a clear and present danger to others. In a confidential letter to the police unions the ministers write that in solving conflicts the police is to avoid the use of firearms to the utmost. "We consider it desirable that in training and instruction the emphasis is laid on techniques of arrest and appro-

ach, as well as tactical conduct." The ministers refuse to ease the rules on the deployment of specialized arrest teams. These police officers are only allowed to carry automatic weapons with the permit of the Public Prosecutor and a written authorization of the minister of Justice. For riot control the Mobile Eenheden (Mobile Units, regular police officers in riot gear) will no longer use a carbine. The ministers "feel that the long baton, the surveillance dog, the water cannon, the teargas and the standard sidearm (Walther P5 pistol) is an adequate equipment for such ME duties."

*

Three prominent Dutch juridical psychologists have recently published a bulky book "Dubieuze zaken; de psychologie van het strafrechtelijk bewijs" (Dubious affairs: the psychology of legal proof", Amsterdam, Contact, 1992, ISBN 90-2540432-4) which makes an interesting contribution to the debate on miscarriages of justice. The authors, H.F.M. Crombag, P.J. van Koppen and W.A. Wagenaar, show by analyzing 35 cases that judges often make decisions in a careless and inconsiderate manner. Although the analyzed cases are not representative of the major part of Dutch criminal cases, the researchers conclude from the fact that they had no trouble finding many examples of questionable evidence that such cases are no exception in Holland. The risk of serious mistakes appears to be a systematic consequence of the applied criminal procedures. Therefore the authors urge a review of a number of these rules.

A central problem, according to the book, is that judges are inclined to believe the claims law enforcement officers make in their written reports or as witnesses. Even in those cases where police officers are clearly lying, making up stories or manipulating evidence by leaving out witness statements that do not fit their hypothesis, they are never charged with perjury. The office of the Public Prosecutor, according to the researchers, is not after the search for the truth but only wants to get suspects convicted.

"Dubieuze zaken" has gotten much attention in Dutch media, but so far the police, Public Prosecutors and judges have completely rejected the book.

date : 920426
from : aps
spinnennetz berlin
subject : frust and developing the system

I would like to apologize to spinb in berlin for not responding to their proposal for using the header and entry words. We had some problems over here in taking it seriously. Even the very basics of networking like sending texts in ascii, using mailers and transmitting on fixed times had not been possible most of the time in an infoexchange between only 3 countries in more than 8 months time!

If this should be a terrorist network - like the german police would like people to believe - so the worse for the terrorist! This doesn't mean that we would like it to be a terrorist network. During the experimental fase we had problems also with the content of the information. In our opinion we should work on creating a network between activists in europe and we should give access to this network to as many activists as possible, including al their different methods and viewpoints. Working towards this should also be reflected in what input we give ourselves.

About what we write, how we write, what we ask people to translate, what information we consider to be important for activist media in other countries. We got the impression that aps is seeing itself more as switchbord giving facilities to political groups where as spinnennetz and ecn-italy see themselves more as political organisations in the first place.

Until now we have the feeling that the ecn network in italy is rather closed and that only a part of the political spectre is having access to their bulletinboardsystem and the ecn network in europe. Until now we did not get a confirmation nor a denial of this being true. We would like to know though. For us it also had been unclear where the info to spinnennetz was/is going to. Was it going anywhere at all? Maintaining our system is costing us a lot of work and ecn is only a small part of it. It is very important to us that questions as these, and they had been asked before, are taken seriously.

In the process of expanding the european counter network we had contact with people from Austria (Tatblatt) and from England (56a infoshop). We expect them to join the network soon. We are also getting faxes from france from a group calling itself ecn. We have no idea who they are and as the info is in french AND on faxpaper it is not made availa-

ble on our bulletinboard. We do leave a message though on the system for our users that the info is there on fax. Making such a message would be easier though if we could read the language.

On the proposal of spinnennetz berlin of using the header: looks good;

I tried it today and we will discuss it in our group, maybe some of the techno's would like some technical changes. My first reaction:

Entry: why use /

Date: we prefer YYMMDD instead of DD-MM-YY

Why: end of file?

In giving names to our files I used NLYYMMDD.zip for the whole package

NLMMDDa1 a2 a3 etc for file considering the netherlands only

for all files I used the extension to give info

jus for: justitia, justice, police, law, repression etc.

fas for: fascism, antifa, immigration etc.

I am not sure this is the right way, I am looking forward to hear more from spinb on their ideas of developing entry words and keywords.

I will try to write something on it myself next time. we are working on developing a list of keywords for our own bulletinboardsystem at the moment.

date : 920404 920426
from : aps
subject : INDONESIA STOPS DEVELOPMENT AID FROM THE NETHERLANDS

April 4/1992

INDONESIA STOPS DEVELOPMENT AID FROM THE NETHERLANDS

The world has stayed silent while Indonesia has made an unprecedented move and stopped its aid relation with the Netherlands.

Indonesia doesn't accept Dutch interference with their "internal" affairs as they describe human rights violations in their country and East Timor.

An overview:

On March 25th the Dutch government received a letter from the Indonesian government, in which it states that:

1. All current development aid in the form of loans and donations from the Netherlands to Indonesia should be stopped before April 25.

2. All preparations for new Dutch development projects in Indonesia should be stopped.
3. Preparations as chair/participant of the next Inter Gouvernmental Group for Indonesia (IGGI) conference should be stopped.

The letter continues to thank the Netherlands for the foundation and chairing the IGGI and all the development aid it has given in the past. But ...:"The relations between the two nations has however deteriorated recently very badly because of the reckless use of development aid as an instrument of intimidation or as means to threaten Indonesia."

"... both nations have made enormous efforts to build a relation on the ruins of an exceptional painful historical past, which is the consequence of centuries of inhumane oppression as well as barbaric cruelties excersized by the colonial armys during the independance war, less than fifty years ago."

"... The total absence of Dutch development aid to Indonesia will lead to a total absence of the use of development aid as a means to threaten Indonesia. It will certainly lead to a better relation..."

The letter ends with a call to keep strong economic, cultural, diplomatic and political ties between the two countries

The Indonesian government had sent simultaneously a letter to the World Bank with the request to form a new donor-consortium under its chair. Japan and the USA had been informed about the Indonesian decision two days earlier.

This drastic rupture was intensely covered in both countries. The Indonesian decision came for everybody in the Netherlands as a total surprise. That the relation had deteriorated between the two countries after the Dutch criticism of the Santa Cruz massacre was clear. When the new ambassador of the Netherlands was received in Jakarta, Suharto had strongly attacked the Netherlands. This is a very unusual practise on an otherwise ceremonial, non-political event. There was the rumors that the Netherlands –and in particular the Dutch Min. of development co-operation Jan Pronk– should discontinue its 25 years of chairing the donorconsortium IGGI. The Netherlands had postponed development aid on November 21, but restored it end of Januari because the Dutch government found the findings of the KPN "hopefull". Then it was Indonesia however who postponed till an unset date the early Feb, sceduled yearly bilateral conference about aid.

The fact that the decision came as a total surprise underwrites the analysis, that this Indonesian decision has been taken by Suharto himself and only very few others.

In the first days (and still now) a lot was unclear about what aid was exactly meant by Indonesia. Were also the projects of the NGO's to be stopped? Four big Dutch NGO's (Cebemo, Icco, Hivos and Novib) have together hundreds of smaller projects in Indone sia. They are partial or totally dependent on Dutch government grants.

The Dutch expected that at least 200 Dutch aidworkers had to be withdrawn within a month.

The first reactions of Dutch parliamentarians and media were with slight variations– unanimous: we deplore Jakarta's decision but will respect it; we will not try to change their minds, we judge the formulation of the decision as unprecedented harsh, undiplomatic / unfair / unacceptable / ridiculous etc.

All political parties assured the media that they still supported the Dutch policy which puts a relation between development aid and human rights. Everybody seemed to back the outspoken Min. of Development Co-operation Jan Pronk.

The first to scream fire was of course the Dutch business sector.

They expressed their grave concern that this policy should in NO WAY interfere with their business interests in Indonesia. Indonesia reassured the Netherlands that their decision only concerned development aid and that all other relations would not be affected; in the contrary they would benifit and industrial relations would grow, according to Indonesian Min. Prawiro of Economical Affairs.

The Netherlands have about 3 billion guilders invested in Indonesia. The bilateral developmentaid consists of about 350 million guilders, which is only a fraction of the 9,5 billion guilders (5 billion US\$) Indonesian receives in total. It is expected that Japan will give more to make up the balance again.

A debate in parliament about the consequences of the Indonesian decision was planned to take place within one and a half week. Within this week the focus of the debate changed most drastically.

Not the consequences of the Indonesian decision or the human rights situation in Indonesia were the focus, but remarks made by Min. Pronk after the Indonesian decision. In an interview with a Dutch newspaper –which was misquoted in the Jakarta Times – the Minister stated: "I don't expect that Indonesia will ask for restoration of the aid relation in the near future. For that you need a new political

generation, one which doesn't make the relation between remarks from the Netherlands about human rights violations and the Dutch colonial past".

The remark "for that you need a new political generation" was badly received in Indonesia and it was this reaction on Indonesia which was eagerly picked up by Dutch parliamentarians, media and of course industry.

A scapegoat for the whole 'debacle' was born: Jan Pronk.

All Dutch media took an active part in this procedure and it suddenly gave many the opportunity to ventilate negative voices about Pronk in general. The conclusion was made that it was solely his behaviour –his failure to understand Indonesian culture!– which had led to the rupture.

In the debate late Thursday night, April 2, the liberals (opposition) and Christian Democrats (government) feverously attacked Pronk and demanded that he should shut his mouth in the future about Indonesia. The task of mending what could be mended, should be solely taken up by the Min. of Foreign Affairs Min. van de Broek who is not outspoken like Pronk but known for his (very) 'silent diplomacy'. Part of the mending policy became also clear when it was announced that a Dutch trade delegation would visit Indonesia within the next month.

All parties had agreed that the Indonesian decision was an undesirable one.

Especially the Christian Democrats argued that without aid relations with Indonesia, the Netherlands no longer had any influence on the human rights situation in Indonesia and in particular East Timor.

(not that it is clear if they did anything at all before Nov. 12th)

But the next day Labour colleagues of Pronk strongly came to his defense and a few newspapers talked about the hypocrisy of it all.

CONCLUSION

The EC reacted within the first days stating that it considered the matter a bilateral affair between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The silence from other countries was astounding. (Austria had made its decision to stop its technical aid to Indonesia in reaction to the Santa Cruz massacre earlier on March 26.) Only Portugal stated that the Indonesian decision could not be considered a bilateral event between the Netherlands and Indonesia since the EC had adopted a resolution, November last year, in which the relation between develop-

ment aid and human rights was recognised. Portugal nor others however succeeded in pushing this point.

If the Indonesians did indeed stop the aid relationship because it doesn't want interference in their "internal" affairs then the international silence is a bad indicator. If other countries take their human rights policy seriously they must discuss this latest measure of Indonesia.

The Netherlands played a very negative role: Pronk and others stated that they hoped that other countries would continue their aid relation with Indonesia.

The steps taken by Indonesia should not be tolerated; it is not a bilateral question but a global one. NGO's should pressure their respective governments to analyse the Dutch/Indonesian rupture which should lead to a revision of their aid relation with Indonesia.

It is also important to put pressure on IGGI members to put the point on this years agenda. (IGGI members: Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, New Zealand, Austria, Spain, Switzerland, Japan, Canada, Australia, USA, Great Britain)

The Indonesian decision serves maybe in the first place the internal –pre election– situation in Indonesia. Suharto probably tried to appease the military who are furious they have been openly punished for the Santa Cruz massacre due to international pressure.

Beside this; nationalistic measurements are always popular in electiontime.

A Dutch cartoon made a clear analyses of the situation. The cartoon showed Suharto screaming to the Dutch: " We have a right to our own massacres."

With this step Indonesia avoided that the next IGGI conference would be held in the Netherlands where a big anti-Indonesian demonstration was planned. It would also be very likely that Pronk –as chair– would have pushed to talk about the human rights situation in Indonesia. This issue had been ignored at IGGI meetings until now, but after the Santa Cruz massacre, the EC resolution and global acceptance of the relation between aid and HR it would be unlikely it would be again ignored. With the World Bank as chair and the Dutch absent Indonesia has much less to fear.

For more questions please contact APS in Amsterdam

date : 920316 @ 920426
from : russell @ aps
subject : east timor report on un human rights session

A DECISION ON A DECLARATION OR A DECISION. NOT A RESOLUTION AND FAR AWAY FROM A REVOLUTION
16th of March

A REPORT BY RUSSELL ANDERSON CONCERNING THE ISSUE OF EAST TIMOR IN THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, 1992
48th Session from January 28th till February 5th

After a silence of seven years, East Timor is back on the agenda of the Human Rights Commission. From the corridors of the Commission to behind closed doors, East Timor was one of the most discussed issues. The Tibet and East Timor lobby were the most experienced groups. From the beginning, an East Timor resolution was given a promising chance. However, on Wednesday 4th of March, a "consensus declaration" on East Timor was read out by the chairman supported by a co-signed letter of commitment by Indonesia and Portugal. Before going on to what this means, and the gains it will bring for the following year I will attempt to describe the process which led to the final declaration.

In the beginning of the 48th session, Portugal played a skilful and tactful role. As chair of the EC and UN recognized administrator of East Timor, Portugal wore two hats. The first weeks, Portugal followed a strategy to negotiate with the EC on a resolution text that would be formally submitted on behalf of the twelve EC countries. Portugal had the added weight that it was prepared to "go it alone" on a resolution. At a time when the "New European Community" is trying to consolidate, a division, especially coming from its chair would be embarrassing. During this period the East Timor lobby work pursued a course to invite countries to co-sponsor the resolution.

THE RESOLUTION

On Feb-25th, a resolution with the support of the twelve was tabled and a vote was scheduled for Mar-3rd. This resolution did not call for an interna-

tional investigation into the Nov-12th massacre, but did show "grave concern at the unprovoked violence" and was "concerned" that this "incident" was not an aberration but "occured in the context of a deteriorating human rights situation". The strongest feature of the text was "recalling" the past United Nations resolutions on East Timor particularly the 1982 resolution calling for self-determination and withdrawal of Indonesian troops. This resolution called for a comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement on the question of East Timor, and "calls" for access to East Timor by international human rights organizations. An item to insure East Timor would be discussed in the Commission next year, was included.

A major strength of the resolution was the significant number (28) of co-sponsors and their diversity. There were six Latin American, two African and 20 European co-sponsors. Other countries joined later, bringing the total to 32. However only fourteen of these countries were members of the Commission and had voting power, the others countries were non-members with observer status.

It was said that "in this house of democracy", meaning the H.R.Commission, countries concerned with an issue are expected to be involved in the discussions/negotiations before any vote is tabled. Portugal was being accused by some countries, particularly Australia, of not having followed the correct procedure by tabling an undiscussed resolution. In a statement to the Commission Indonesia accused the EC of "not respecting the usual practice of prior contact or consultation". Portugal, already under pressure to enter into negotiations, immediately approached Indonesia and proposed the Indonesians to come up with a concrete counter proposal. Thus began the new stage of negotiations with Indonesia.

NEGOTIATIONS

It was at this stage that the East Timorese lobby group thought that the Portuguese delegation made some tactical errors. Instead of negotiating on the basis of the text of the tabled resolution, the Portuguese drafted a text that could be agreeable to by ALL parties, including Indonesia. The next six days of toing and froing created extreme pressure from all sides.

Four possibilities arose:

- ** A "Consensus Declaration".
- ** A "Decision" read out by the Chair.
- ** A vote on the E.C. resolution.
- ** A "No-Action" on the EC resolution.

A CONSENSUS DECLARATION – is an agreement by all members of the Commission and, without discussion, is read out by the Chair of the HRC. The consensus declaration is not given a file number in the records of the 48th Session and is not even recorded in the important section of the resolutions but in an unrecognized back section.

A " DECISION " – is also an agreement by all members and, without discussion, read out by the Chair. The decision statement however is binding because both/all parties agree to a commitment and the declaration is recorded in the report of the 48th Session.

THE TABLED " RESOLUTION " – is the above mentioned points and is voted on by the 53 member states. For the resolution to succeed it must receive a majority vote. As well as a yes or no vote, member countries have the possibility to abstain. A resolution is the most recognised goal within the Commission and is " legally binding ". The wording of a resolution is always stronger because it is not a consensus agreement and has the advantage of creating discussion, from the floor of the Commission. It is also given a reference number and reported in the 48th Session.

A " NO-ACTION " – When a resolution goes to vote any member state can call for a "no-action" vote on the resolution. This is an effective way for countries to save face by avoiding having to vote on a resolution. This means that a country might agree generally with the resolution but disagree with certain paragraphs and therefore take a different stand when it comes to a no-action. If a no-action wins the vote the resolution is dumped and is not recorded in the Session.

The East Timor lobby agreed that Portugal should enter into negotiations but not on the terms of a declaration. Portugal was now in a difficult position because it was negotiating on behalf of the twelve and countries like UK, Germany and Holland were preferring a "declaration". Outside pressure from the US, Japan and Australia was also being applied. Japan helped Indonesia in the negotiation process and Australia helped Indonesia by taking an active lobby role and at a crucial last moment spread disinformation to confuse the negotiations.

Portugal, at an early stage of the negotiations with Indonesia, for what ever reason, did not consult with the experienced East Timor lobbies or the NGO's who took a leading role in the East Timor lobby. Portugal's approach at this stage appeared to take on a colonialist mentality towards East Ti-

mor. This may not be true but could have been caused by extreme pressure and sometimes limited time to consult. With the possibilities of future " talks without pre-conditions " it is hoped that a certain amount of fore-planning will alleviate any reoccurrence of this type.

All negotiations between countries were behind closed doors. It became an almost untouchable situation. All lobbying on the resolution was put on hold during the negotiations with Indonesia. NO ONE was sure what the final outcome would be. Some of the scenario's were; talks would break down at the last moment and the resolution would go to the vote; or an agreement would be reached on a declaration; or a decision declaration. The East Timor lobby preferred a vote on the resolution and the next best would be a "decision". While Portugal was leading towards a "decision" a lot was weighing on the wording of the text declaration.

On Mar-3rd the issue of East Timor, agreed by all members was postponed to Wednesday the 4th. The atmosphere was extremely tense.

The negotiations with Indonesia effects the lobby (on voting on the resolution) in such a way that countries do not enter into discussion because they are aware of the negotiation process. It had become unclear how countries would vote if it came to a "noaction". From speaking to people afterwards it would have been very close. The worst estimate given was 60% in favour of a noaction while most of the East Timor lobby were in favour of the confrontation and believed there was a chance of success.

MARCH 4TH

Without going into the last minute details: the issue of EastTimor, on Mar-4th was postponed , but less than two hours later, to the surprise of many a " consensus declaration " was read out by the Chairman. Afterwards it was explained to me the reason why this happened; Portugal and Indonesia had agreed on a text and had co-signed a special letter of commitment. It was important it be read out as soon as possible in order to validate the declaration. Portugal firmly believed that the best result under the circumstances had been achieved.

After the Nov-12th massacre and the outcry seen by the international community, plus the strong East Timor lobby in the HRC, expectations were running high for a resolution in the Commission. Personally I felt the "consensus declaration" was a let down. However what has been achieved this

year is unprecedented. Thanks to the perseverance of the East Timorese in their determination to be free from the illegal annexation of Indonesia.

Before I move on to the positive aspects of the declaration it would be appropriate to quote the International Committee of Jurists on their opening remarks on the intervention they made in the Commission concerning East Timor:

" Each year, this agenda item affords the Commission the opportunity to shine the disinfecting light of international publicity on the gross violations of human rights. Each year, however, political considerations seem to play as great a role in the Commission's decision-making as human suffering, which action by the international community might help to alleviate ".

THE DECLARATION

Declarations by nature are weaker than a resolution but this declaration does have a strong text. There are some quiries on important words, like "to continue to follow closely" would have had more meaning if stated "to continue to implement". Although worded differently than the resolution, all the basic elements are present in the "declaration";

** Para. 1 – The declaration after noting " with serious concern the human rights situation "... thus it is not an aberration, goes on and "strongly deplores the violent incident in Dili, on 12 November".

** Para. 2 – It "hopes" that the " fate of those unaccounted for will " be clarified, " namely on the number of people killed and those missing ".

** Para. 3 – The Commission is encouraged by the " military court proceedings regarding some members of its Armed Forces " but urges " to bring to trial and punish all those found responsible ". It urges " that all civilians " brought to trial are assured of proper legal representation and fair trial and that those not involved in violent activities are released without delay ".

** Para. 4 – Unfortunately the word self-determination does not arise and there is no specific reference made to latter resolutions. However, the "Commission encourages the Secretary General to continue his good offices for achieving a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement" – and in this years HRC it has been agreed by ALL member countries, including Indonesia.

SOME OF THE STRONGER POINTS ARE IN PARAGRAPH 5;

** " The Commission urges the Government of Indonesia to improve the human rights situation in East Timor ".

** The Commission "urges the Indonesian authorities to" implement the recommendations of its Special Rapporteur, Mr Kooijmans, on Torture and "looks forward to a report". Therefore pointing to a financial commitment (see explanation below of financial commitment).

** " Requests the Secretary General to continue to follow closely the human rights situation in East Timor and to keep the Commission informed" in next years Session. I'm not sure of the exact method of informing the Commission, but if enough information reaches the desk of the Secretary General about continuing human rights abuses, then East Timor will be firmly on the agenda for next year. This also means a financial commitment (see below).

IS THE DECLARATION BINDING ?

It is hard to know what is "binding". From the past we can see that resolutions do not necessarily change events. If a resolution was passed by a small margin and Indonesia would have, of course, voted against, then Indonesia could have easily given the thumbs down and continued as per usual. The legal section of the UN and the Secretary of the HRC, have both said this declaration is "binding ". SOME EVEN ARGUE THAT THIS DECLARATION IS MORE BINDING THEN A RESOLUTION BECAUSE IT IS A CONSENSUS AND MORE IMPORTANTLY IT HAS THE CO-SIGNED AGREEMENT WITH INDONESIA, SPECIFICALLY RELATING TO PARAGRAPH 5. IF INDONESIA DOES NOT KEEP TO ITS WORD IT CAN BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE BY ALL MEMBER STATES AND CO-SPONSERS. ESPECIALLY THE EC HAS A RESPONSIBILITY BECAUSE IT ORIGINALLY PRESENTED THE RESOLUTION AND IN THE END FAVOURED THIS DECLARATION.

The Declaration has been recorded in the HRC, 48th Session, the report reference number is E/CN.4/1992/L.10/Add.12. and can be found under paragraph 58. Its interesting to note the tabled " Resolution " is also included in the same document, in paragraph 57. Also the annual meeting, held at the end of the HRC, has already put East Timor on next years Draft Provisional Agenda of the 49th Session – under " Report of the Secretary General – Item 12 N ".

A financial commitment – means allocating money and initiating a bureaucratic process to deal with the above mentioned reports. This is another aspect of the declaration that binds the UN and Indonesia.

WHAT IS CLEAR?

The declaration has given a lot of room to move for all parties concerned. Indonesia's claim of victory is purely a media exercise to mobilize mass consciousness in their favour. Indonesia has basically agreed to an international settlement and the opening up of East Timor. Who's "victory" this declaration favours will depend on the coming year. A general strength of the declaration is that certain operative mechanisms have been put in place to allow new inroads. It is now the responsibility of NGO's, Solidarity groups, lawyers, individuals and of course the East Timorese organizations to use these mechanisms and confront Indonesia and test the wording of the declaration. These points are: ** Indonesia has been put on the spot concerning its "about 50 " figure for the number of dead, on Nov-12th. Any evidence to prove this claim false has an opening under, Para. 2.

** At this very moment lawyers and judicial organisations will be backed up by the wording of the text when inquiring about proper legal representation and fair trials. Any discrepancies should be reported to the Secretary General.(Para. 3)

** Added weight will be given to the widely called for release of those not involved in violent activities. (Para. 3)

** Quiries will be strengthened about the bringing to trial of ALL members of the Armed Forces concerning the Nov-12th massacre.(Para.3)

** Organizations have the right to make inquiries to governments about the steps being taken to find a " just, comprehensive and international acceptable settlement ".(Para 4)

** Human rights groups and humanitarian organizations in the coming year should apply to visit East Timor – Every time there is evidence to prove Indonesia does not co-operate, then a report should go to the Secretary General for his intervention in the 49th Session. Any reports by human rights groups, who are allowed into the country, that find violations of human rights will contradict the Commission's request to Indonesia to improve the human rights situation. (Para.5)

** Particularly, considering Indonesia is asked to make a report on its implementation on the recommendations of the Special Rapporteur on Torture, any evidence of continuing violations should be presented to the Secretary General. (Para. 5)

It was said early on in the Commission that even if a resolution fails it will still be a victory for East Timor because it has been such an issue this year. During the HRC, Mr Jose Ramos Horta was discussing strategies for the next international meetings, concerning East Timor. This helped to put the HRC into the correct perspective – it is just another forum to raise the issue of East Timor. What is left after this forum is a thorn in the side of the Indonesian government. If the thorn is pushed properly it will add many new possibilities for this year and for the next Human Rights Commission.

m i l a n o

from 2 to 5 july

PARCO LAMBRO '92

i n t e r n a t i o n a l
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